

## Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT BERNARD GWERTZMAN PAGE THREE BYLINER  
NEW YORK TIMES WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 1 HEADED "U.S. EXPECTS A  
MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT NEXT YEAR FOR A MIDEAST PEACE SET-  
TLEMENT."

2. PEACE TALK COMING FROM WASHINGTON; CAIRO AND JERUSALEM  
IN RECENT WEEKS HAVE CREATED NEW EXPECTATIONS THAT A MAJOR  
DIPLOMATIC EFFORT FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT WILL BE UN-  
DERTAKEN NEXT YEAR. ALTHOUGH SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A.  
KISSINGER AND HIS AIDES ASSERT THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRA-  
TION WILL INHERIT AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGOTIA-  
TING AN AGREEMENT, THEY CONCEDE, HOWEVER, THAT NO CLEAR WAY  
IS APPARENT FOR OVERCOMING OBSTACLES THAT HAVE BLOCKED AN  
OVERALL MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR NEARLY A DECADE.

3. AND MOST MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS PRIVATELY SAY THAT UNLESS  
ISRAEL AND THE ARABS MAKE MAJOR COMPROMISES THEY HAVE RE-  
SISTED UP TO NOW, THE IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE MAY QUICKLY DIS-  
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SIPATE. THE EXPECTATIONS OF THIS WINTER COULD TURN INTO

FRUSTRATION BY NEXT SUMMER AND THE WORDS OF PEACE COULD TURN INTO TALK OF WAR, WITH THE ACCOMPANYING DANGERS OF A SOVIET-UNITED STATES CONFRONTATION AND OIL EMBARGOES.

4. THE END OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND THE COINCIDING ARAB MOVES TO SETTLE THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR HAVE ALLOWED ALL PARTIES TO FOCUS ON ARAB-ISRAELI DIPLOMACY, AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR OF DIPLOMATIC INACTIVITY ON THAT FRONT.

5. IN ADVANCE OF WHATEVER REVIEW MR. CARTER ORDERS OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, PRESIDENT ANWAR EL-SADAT OF EGYPT AND PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN OF ISRAEL HAVE BEGUN TRYING TO PERSUADE WASHINGTON, AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, OF THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS WITHOUT GOING SO FAR AS TO INDICATE WHERE THE CRUCIAL COMPROMISES ARE POSSIBLE.

6. MR. KISSINGER'S OPTIMISM STEMS FROM THE STATED DESIRE OF THE PARTIES FOR PEACE AND ALSO FROM THE MOVES BY SYRIA AND EGYPT TO END THEIR FEUDING.

7. BEFORE THE BREAKDOWN IN DIPLOMACY, MR. KISSINGER HAD NEGOTIATED TWO EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI ACCORDS AND ONE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, RETURNING TO THE TWO ARAB COUNTRIES TERRITORIES CAPTURED BY ISRAEL IN THE 1973 WAR AND MODEST AMOUNTS OF LAND TAKEN IN THE 1967 WAR.

8. ISRAEL IN RETURN OBTAINED A RESPITE FROM FIGHTING AND RECEIVED HUGE AMOUNTS OF AMERICAN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID, ALTHOUGH POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON HAVE BEEN STRAINED REPEATEDLY BECAUSE OF ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS WASHINGTON WANTED.

9. MR. KISSINGER'S SO-CALLED "STEP-BY-STEP" DIPLOMACY, WHICH ALLOWED HIM TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT TOUCHING THE DEEP-ROOTED ISSUES, HAS PROBABLY RUN ITS COURSE. WHOEVER REPLACES HIM AS SECRETARY OF STATE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CHOOSE MORE CONVENTIONAL DIPLOMATIC TOOLS THAN THE "SHUTTLE" APPROACH.

10. AND THIS IS WHERE THE TROUBLE SEEMS TO BEGIN. NO ONE  
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APPEARS ABLE TO COME UP WITH AN ALTERNATE STRATEGY THAT HAS A HIGH PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS.

11. MR. SADAT, WHO DOES MOST OF THE TALKING FOR THE ARABS, HAS REPEATEDLY SPOKEN OF LIVING IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL. HIS PASSION ON THE SUBJECT HAS PERSUADED MR. KISSINGER AND VIRTUALLY EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO HAS MET HIM THAT HE SINCERELY WANTS A SETTLEMENT. BUT HE IS RATHER SPECIFIC

ABOUT WHAT HE MEANS BY "PEACE," AND IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE THE SAME AS WHAT THE ISRAELIS MEAN BY PEACE.

12. MR. SADAT, FOR INSTANCE, SAYS HE WILL NOT SIGN A PEACE TREATY BUT WILL SIGN A DOCUMENT "FORMALLY, LEGALLY, PUB-

LICLY ENDING THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN US." IN RETURN, HE SAYS, "I WOULD INSIST" ON "COMPLETE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA." HE IS WILLING TO HAVE SECURITY GUARANTEES FROM THE BIG POWERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

13. MR. RABIN, HOWEVER, MAINTAINS THAT ISRAEL FOR SECURITY REASONS CANNOT GIVE BACK EVERY INCH OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY, EVEN IN EXCHANGE FOR FORMAL PEACE. FOR NONBELLIGERENCY, A CONDITION SOMEWHAT LESS THAN PEACE, MR. RABIN IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE LESS SIGNIFICANT ISRAELI WITHDRAWALS IN SINAI, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND IN THE EST BANK OF THE JORDAN.

14. IN ADDITION, THE ISRAELIS WANT PSYCHOLOGICAL GESTURES FROM THE ARABS SUCH AS ASSIGNMENTS OF ENVOYS, CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND TRADE, TO CREATE A CLIMATE FOR EVENTUAL PEACE.

15. OTHERWISE, THE ISRAELIS STRESS, HOW CAN THEY BE SURE SOME FUTURE ARAB LEADERS MIGHT NOT LAUNCH A WAR OF EXTERMINATION AGAINST ISRAEL, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE RECOVERED TERRITORY?

16. MR. RABIN ALSO REPEATS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WILL NEITHER AGREE TO A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE NOR NEGOTIATE WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION. ISRAEL WANTS UNCLASSIFIED

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THE PALESTINIAN INTERESTS TO BE REPRESENTED BY JORDAN.

17. ON THE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS, MR. SADAT AND MR. RABIN AGREE ON A MULTINATIONAL CONFERENCE SUCH AS GENEVA, BUT AGAIN DISAGREE ON P.L.O. REPRESENTATION. MR. SADAT SAYS NO AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE P.L.O. AT GENEVA AND MR. RABIN SAYS JUST THE OPPOSITE.

18. THE UNITED STATES IS BEING LOOKED TO BY BOTH SIDES TO COME UP WITH SOME IDEAS ON HOW TO BREAK THESE SIGNIFICANT IMPASSES. MR. KISSINGER RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF A "PRELIMINARY" CONFERENCE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE 1973 GENEVA CONFERENCE AS A WAY TO GET AROUND THE P.L.O. ISSUE. THAT WAS REJECTED BY THE ARABS AND BY MOSCOW.

19. MR. KISSINGER IN PARTICULAR HAS BELIEVED THAT MR. SA-  
19. MR. KISSINGER IN PARTICULAR HAS BELIEVED THAT MR. SA-  
DAT IS A MORE "COURAGEOUS" NEGOTIATOR THAN MR. RABIN, AND  
THIS HAS LED THE ISRAELIS TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF PRESSURES  
FROM WASHINGTON. IN TURN, OFFICIALS IN THE STATE DEPART-  
MENT HARBOR DOUBTS THAT THE RABIN GOVERNMENT COULD ACTUALLY  
NEGOTIATE AWAY SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

OR THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN, EVEN IF THE ARABS WERE  
MORE FORTHCOMING ON WHAT CONSTITUTED "NONBELLIGERENCY."  
THESE DOUBTS ARE STRENGTHENED BY THE IMPENDING ISRAELI  
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. (END TEXT) ROBINSON

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